1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

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FRONTISPIECE:

Phaggu and Family.

[Facing Title Page]

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assured, they build houses which may favourably be compared even with those of the poorer Brahmins. Such well-built houses are of mud walls about two feet thick, a tiled roof laid out on bamboo poles and a fairly large courtyard. We found the houses and courtyards in Barela scrupulously clean. Refuse, however, was thrown into the manure pits right alongside the houses. In Kharara Ghat the houses were not of the same standard of cleanliness as in Barela. There seemed to be no particular direction which the houses must face. Enquiries revealed that there was no particular objection to having the door face toward the south. To some Hindus this is the direction of the dwelling place of the God of Death, *Yama*, and there should be no door that way. Most houses seemed to have no central courtyard, such as is common in Santali villages. If two houses face each other, both houses have a courtyard and there is a common pathway between. The mud walls, inside and outside, the floors and the courtyard are plastered with a mixture of cow dung and clay. There is generally but one room in the average house, and it is littered up with many things. There is found somewhere a large sun-dried mud urn, large enough for a man to get into, and in this is stored the grain so that it may not be destroyed by rats and moisture.[1] There are baskets and tools in the corners; on bamboo poles stretched just across the top of the mud walls, not much higher than the head, hang clothes, rags and tattered bedding. In one corner, the view of which is generally hidden as one enters the low door, is the cooking department with its stone mill and *chulhas* and a few pots for cooking purposes. There will be a few bottles for oil, and a few tins, usually old tins once thrown away by some city dweller, in which are kept such things as salt and spices used in the preparation of the meal. This is a description of the better type of house. In summer it is dark and cool. There are no windows and all the light comes through the door leading to a small veranda.

On the other hand, there is the meaner type of house. At Barela there were numbers of these alongside of other better houses. The pictures show the differences.[2] These ruder huts have no veranda space, though usually there is an attempt at a small courtyard. The doors are so low that one has to get on his hands and knees to enter. The roof is of grass, and usually this type of house does not furnish much protection from rain. The walls are merely bamboo *tati* or just branches woven together and protected by thorns. This type of house is airy compared to the others, but the door can never be locked. In-

1 See Plate vii.
2 See Plate v.

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PLATE VII.

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Interior Views of a Kol House. Bedding and Clothes in Centre; Dewahar to far left.

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778

Closer View of the Dewahar showing evidences of Worship.

251
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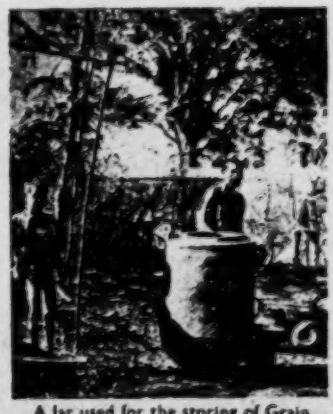

A Jar used for the storing of Grain inside the House.

[Facing p. 18]

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requirements or by religious observances. They do much to break the monotony and to provide a change.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES AND UTENSILS. Beds and cots are seldom, if ever, found in Kol houses. Those who dwell near cities, or work in the industrial centres sometimes own a cheap rope cot called a *khatiya*. The head man of the village may own a cot or two, and when one visits a village, this is often brought for the European guest to sit upon. The usual place for sleep is the mud floor of the dwelling. A blanket or mat may be all that is underneath, while in the hot weather not even this is availed of. Pillows are not used, but if it should be desired that the head be raised, it is probable that a small wooden stool a few inches high will be employed.

352 [369] [622] [574]

KHATIYÁ

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Fig. 5

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Chairs, tables and the like, are never found. Anything that must be put away and cannot be hung over the rafters or the bamboo poles stretched across the walls is placed in a wooden chest. One usually finds some kind of a small box about the place which is locked. Valuables, however, are usually buried in a hole in the floor and the same completely *lepoed* to hide all trace of the spot.

The main articles in the house are those connected with food and drink. Gourd vessels are occasionally used as receptacles for storing water, but more commonly such vessels are made of earthenware or brass. Kols do not make either of these. The earthen vessels may be purchased cheaply in the bazaar from people of the Kumhar caste—the traditional potters. Food is also stored in them and in one of the Kol sub-divisions, the *Kurhas*, food should only be taken from a particular type of black earthenware dish. As a rule the various kinds of earthenware vessels are being replaced all over village India by those made of brass and aluminium.

415 [323] 325 [439] [251] [178]

The stone implements are the grindstone and the *sil*. The former consists usually of two pieces of round stone, although the bottom stone may be squarish. The upper stone, which is slightly smaller, is about 16" in diameter. It has a peg for a handle by which it is rotated. There is also a hole into which the grain is poured, though often the stone is simply lifted and the grain spread out over

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412 the lower stone. In the centre there is a pivot around which the upper stone rotates. The *sil* is essentially a grindstone but is used mostly to grind spices, and mix together ingredients on the mortar-and-pestle

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

system. The *sil* has two parts: an oblong stone 18″×12″ the surface of which is roughened by being chipped; the roller, a piece of stone which is rounded and which is used something as a rolling pin, only the stone grinds and does not revolve.

An iron knife which is attached to a piece of wood and on which all the cutting of vegetables is done is usually found about the house. The user sits on the floor and cuts the vegetables or meat on the knife. In the process the knife is steadied by pressing the feet on the wooden attachment and thus both hands are free for work.

[516] [252]

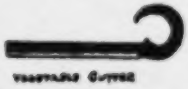

Fig. 8

● 415 A few baskets will always be found lying about the house. These also are not manufactured by Kols. They are used for transporting things to and from the bazaar, for gathering leaves, sticks and cow-dung for fuel or plaster. Vegetables and the like may be stored in them. The winnowing basket (*supa*) is always found near the granary. This is used to clean the grains and also has its work in certain magical ceremonies which will be described further on. A sort of broom made of bamboo and grass will be found somewhere about the place.

[285] [251] [243]

Fig. 9

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354 In one corner of the room is located the *chulha*. This is a low mud hearth with one or two fireplaces. The smoke goes into the room. Here the meals for the family are cooked. Nearby are the cooking vessels and an iron spoon or two for stirring the food and some tongs for the fire. Somewhere will be found the large sun-dried mud urn in which the wheat or rice is stored. This is rat proof and is arranged so that it may be watched for termites which do much damage in villages. Some piles of fuel will be seen: dried cow-dung cakes or bits of wood which have been chopped by the men of the family.

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USE OF FIRE. Matches are fast finding their way into the villages of India and as a result primitive ways of making fire are disappearing. Enquiries among Kols in sections where matches are not generally in use showed that they have two primitive methods of making fire. Even here it is not often necessary to prepare fire afresh, as it is usually

Fig. 10

kept in ignited lumps of cow-dung, which burn slowly and are not easily extinguished. It is not infrequent to see, in such villages, a woman going from one house to another taking with her a smoking piece of cow-dung to start her own fire.

The most usual method is to strike a stone against iron. The spark is directed into a bit of cotton from the *semal* tree (*Bombax malabaricum*) which is very easily ignited. Kols collect and preserve the cotton for this purpose. The second method often practised is that of rubbing together two well-dried sticks of the *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*). One stick is notched. A sawing method is used, and a bit of *semal* cotton dropped into and around the notch, where the heat generated by friction ignites it. This is carefully nursed and transferred to dry leaves and grass.

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION. Like most village and common folk in India the Kols have two meals a day : one about noon and the other late at night. Early in the morning something is usually taken before going out to work. This may consist of a *chapati* or a bit of rice left over from the night before. The two main meals are almost similar and there is usually no variation in the menu. In the season when rice is cheapest, it will form the main part of the meal ; or when wheat is the cheaper, this is eaten in the form of *chapatis*. In Rewa millet is frequently used. Along with these main articles a little vegetable curry and some pulse is usually eaten. Meats are not taken regularly as they are too expensive, but Kols eat most meats except beef. These

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564 sub-groups are recognised within the Rautiya *kurhi*. These are often listed as entirely separate from Rautiyas, but when those conversant with such matters were pressed, it was found that these are really sub-groups of the Rautiya. The sub-groups are:

1a. *Rautel.* This group appears in eleven of the twenty-one lists as a genuine Kol *kurhi*. Further study has revealed that this name is used rather loosely and that there is really very little difference between the Rautels and the Rautiyas. In Maihar State groups calling themselves Rautel claimed that they practise hypergamy with Rautiyas and Thakuriyas; but this occurs only if suitable Rautel girls are not available for marriage. The groups in Maihar State claimed that they are the highest class of Kols, as a Brahmin priest always officiates in their wedding ceremonies, while the Rautiyas do not always observe this essential. It came out in the same discussions that Rautels eat off an earthen dish known as the *kurha*, and that they are thus probably identical with the sub-group of Rautiyas known as Kurhas. A Kathautiya Kol later confirmed this interpretation. This same informant said that his group used to practise hypergamy with Kurhas, but that now there are no restrictions, and in most places either can take or give their girls in marriage without hindrance. This opinion, however, was found to be inconsistent with enquiries in other centres.

1b. *Kurha.* The Kurha is definitely a Rautiya of a particular kind, and might be considered a "totemistic sept". This group is expected to do all its eating off black earthenware vessels known as *kurhas*. These are not made by Kols themselves, but are bought from members of the potter caste, the Kumhars. The following stories were noted in regard to their origin.

The earthenware KŪṛHĀ
This is the dish from which the Rautels eat.

Fig. 17

564 Once upon a time there were two brothers who were orphaned 773 of their father and brought up by their mother. After a time the old mother died and the two sons were forced to go out into the world and earn their own living. Following quite a long period of separation they happened to meet, and each enquired after the work and welfare of the other. The younger related how he was working for a certain master and how this master had fed him from a *kurha* made by a Kumhar. Then after becoming independent of his master he told how he had continued to use that type of dish. The elder brother was much annoyed at this and told his younger brother that they could no longer associate nor eat together because of this practice.

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This led to a separation between the brothers and they formed two divisions of the same family. The elder brother was the head of the family of Rautiya Kols and the younger of the Kurha Kols.

Another story relates that there were once five brothers of the same *kurhi*. Due to lack of food they were forced to separate: one went to the Binj mountains and founded the Binj *kurhi*; another went to a Thakuriya house, found shelter there, and from him are descended the Thakuriya Kols; another who took refuge with the Kumhars, the potters, was the ancestor of the Kurha sept. It is not unlikely that these stories contain the truth that this *kurhi* may have arisen from some marriage with Kumhars or perhaps miscegenation with them, or it may have reference to some occupational adventure on the part of some Kols.

Apparently the use of an earthen vessel by one sub-group does not prevent marriage within the whole group, nor does it limit it to that group, for marriages are possible between them and the Kathautiya Rautiyas who use wooden vessels from which to eat. There is the restriction, though, that Kurhas and Kathautiyas should not eat together unless they are related by marriage, and when this is the case they may compromise by the use of the ordinary brass plate. In a certain centre we were told that the only "pure Rautiyas" were those who used the *kurha* and that there were also definite marriage restrictions between them and the users of the wooden bowl. This, if ever true, is disappearing.

1c. *Kathautiya.* Evidence goes to show that this *kurhi* is also a sub-group of the Rautiyas and differs from the Kurhas in that its members eat from a wooden bowl, called *kathauta* or *kathota*. The women folk, and occasionally the men, wear bits of wood in the lobes of their ears. During childhood the hole in the lobe is enlarged by the insertion of fibres from weeds, and from time to time a new bit is inserted in the attempt to enlarge the hole. We did not find that the Kathautiya Kols were consistent in the use of the wooden dish. At Sihora they told us that while they were Kathautiyas they had nevertheless given up the use of the *kathauta* and had adopted the ordinary brass plate. In other centres, notably one near Katni, they still use the bowl and cling to the custom tenaciously. As far as possible, they declared, all food should be prepared in wooden vessels, and it is expected that they should eat their food from such vessels. They do not manufacture their own *kathautas*, nor is any particular kind of wood used, but the dishes are made by Hindu carpenters from such wood as is available. At the time of death or eclipse of sun or moon the Kurha Kols must throw out all their earthenware dishes; the

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564 Kathautiyas also throw out their earthenware vessels, but not the wooden ones which are considered to be unaffected by these occurrences. This may be due to Hindu influences.

It was intimated that hypergamy is occasionally practised with the Thakuriyas but in such cases it appears that the girls are "kept" rather than "married". One group of Kathautiyas asserted their superiority over the Thakuriyas and claimed that if a Thakuriya girl came to live with a Kathautiya boy, the Thakuriyas could take her back; but that they would never take back one of their girls who went to live with the Thakuriyas.

Some Kols stated that Binj, Kathariya and Kulmangans are types of Rautiya Kols, but the best evidence appears to be otherwise and these groups are treated separately below.

101 171 564 The use of the word "Rautiya" is not confined to the Kols. There is a Munda tribe in Chota Nagpur called Rautiyas and a few members of this tribe are found in the Jashpur State of the Central Provinces. It is also the name of a subcaste of Dahait, a mixed caste of village watchmen of the Jubbulpore and Mandla districts, and several of their subcaste names bear a close resemblance to those of the Kols. It is also a sub-caste of the Kawars and of a section of the Chamars and Rawats (Ahir).[1] The other subgroups of Rautiyas as noted above were not in use elsewhere except that among the Darzis, or tailors there is a Kathautiya subdivision.[2]

564 773 2. *Thakuriyas.* Russell and Hiralal[3] are of the opinion that this word is derived from *thakur* meaning "a lord", and they trace this *kurhi* to the intermarriage of Rajput males with Kol females. Such intermarriage probably followed the gradual penetration of the Rajputs into the regions occupied by the Kols. The stories given below concerning the origin of the Thakuriyas probably reflect a long period in which there was a considerable mixture of blood.

According to one story a certain Rautiya Kol had two wives who often quarrelled and the husband saw fit to scold the elder of the two. As a result she left the protection of the Kol and in anger went to the house of the *malgusar* of the village who happened to be a Thakur. She began to live on the veranda of his house, and earned her food with her own hands in any way she could. After some months she gave birth to a son and the Thakur sent word to this effect to her husband, with the request that he should come and take the mother and child

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 402.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 376.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 509.

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PLATE XIII.

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Dhunka of Garhs - a Rautiya Kol.

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A Kathauta Rautiya with the wooden bowl from which they must eat. Near Kanri.

[facing p. 38]

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in the case of the Hill Kharias the clan organization is based on totemistic principles, there is still no exogamy connected with it.[1] Roy remarks about another section of the Hill Kharias: "There is strong evidence to indicate that this section of the tribe has probably lost its clan organization as they have lost their aboriginal language, unless it may be that they never evolved any such organization."[2] Other Kharias, notably the Hill Kharias of Singhbhum and Manbhum districts have recorded of them that "the division into exogamous clans is recognized for the purpose of marriage."[3]

An examination of the clan organization of the Mundas, which might quite readily be worked out from existing materials, would be an interesting study. From our study of the Kols of Central India it is clear that they, like some of the Munda tribes noted above, have at the present day no totemistic clan organization as the basis of their social organization; exogamy is practically unknown, marriage being regulated within the group and even sub-groups on the basis of genealogical relationships. Fifty years ago Crooke wrote of the Kols of the Southern United Provinces that they have "shed off the elaborate system of totemistic septs which are found among the Mundas of Bengal."[4] On being asked questions dealing with a totem or an emblem of a clan the Kols said that they have clans which they term *gots*. Asked further how these differed from *kurhis* the answer given was that *gots* and *kurhis* are essentially the same. They said that on a tribal basis exogamy is unknown amongst them, and that marriage is always among the same *gots* or *kurhis*. There seems therefore to be no difference at the present time in marriage regulations between members of septs within the clan.

Some of the Kol *kurhis* which have no totems or clan emblems may be called *gots* in the same sense as are the three *kurhis*: Kurhas, Kathautiyas and Kathariyas, which apparently have as clan emblems the earthen vessel, the wooden bowl and the mattress, respectively.[5] No rites are observed in connection with these totems, either for their multiplication or for their preservation. As far as could be ascertained there are now no taboos in connection with them. In the cases of those who strictly use one or the other of these dishes the taking of food in the wrong kind of diah is taboo, that is, the Kurha should eat off earthen vessels; yet there are Kurhas who do not observe

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124, 125 *etc.*
2 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 125.
4 Crooke, W., *Tribes and Castes of the Northwest Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. III, Art. Kol.
5 See pages 36, 37, 44.

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this in a strict way, and when certain situations arise they may eat from a brass dish without offence. The same applies in the case of the Kathautiyas.

Russell and Hiralal[1] are supposed to have found traces of totemism among the Kols, but as previously noted it is clear that they have made a mistake in the case of the Kathariyas. They list certain "totemistic septs" in Mandla. They note that the Bargaiyan sept is really named after the village of Bargaon, that the sept connects its name with the *bar* or banyan tree (*Ficus indica*) and is said to revere it. This tree, however, is generally revered by Kols. Some of the sept's uses and taboos of the tree are mentioned in their article. The second sept, the Kathautia has the explanation that we have given, except it is reported that the sept reveres the tiger and keeps Bagheshwar Deo,[2] the tiger god, on a little platform on the veranda. We found no trace of this among the Kathautiyas interviewed. The third is the Kathariya sept, of which we have already spoken and where we believe the authors have gone astray. Fourthly, "The name of the Mudia or Mudrundia sept is said to mean shaven head, but they apparently revere the white *kumhra* or gourd, perhaps because it has some relation to the shaven head. They give the white gourd to a woman on the third day after she has borne a child, and her family do not eat this vegetable for three years."[3] Fifthly, the Kumraya sept is said to revere the brown *kumhra*. Again, the Bhuwar sept is named after *bhu* or *bhumi* and its members must never sleep on cots, always on the ground. We found no trace of this belief. "Other septs are Nathunia, a nose ring; Karpatia, a kind of grass; and Binjhwar, from a tribe of that name."[4] Russell and Hiralal do not state whether there are exogamic tendencies in connection with these septs or not. Totemism however, is a very complex phenomenon and differs widely even among the Mundas. There is apparently no single criterion: "Exogamy may or may not be coupled with the other features, totemistic taboos may be dissociated from a totemistic name for the group practising them; descent from the totem may or may not be postulated; and so forth."[5] Lowie goes on to discuss Goldenweiser's and Fraser's theories of totemism and finds them inadequate to explain the totemistic phenomena. "Only confusion can result from envisaging what is disparate under a single head."[6] The

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 510, 511.
2 See index : Tiger.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 510.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 511.
5 Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, p. 140.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

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part of one, and if another person should get it he would have power over the child. Its burial is also, strangely, a proof of birth. If a Kol is asked where he was born he replies: "My *nava* is buried in...." and names the village. In a real sense a part of him is buried there and he is a part of that village. The spot is plastered over with a mixture of cow dung, earth and water, and the fire lit over it. The *hom* sacrifice may also be offered. 846 [237 782]

Any extraordinary happening at birth or anything unusual is generally considered a bad sign. For example, a child born with teeth already in its mouth is much feared, for it signifies bad luck and a member of the family, probably one of the parents, will be sure to die within a short time. They say the child has come to destroy a member of the family. An extra finger, though, is considered as a good omen. Twins seem to have no special significance attached to them and their occurrence appears to be infrequent among the Kols. 845 787

The Sixth Day Ceremony: *Chhathi*. After six days it is believed that the greatest period of danger is over and the woman can begin to make preparations to take up her normal life. This period corresponds with the time of greatest physical danger, for by the sixth day after birth, the dreaded septicaemia, if it is to come, will make its appearance. When day has come and all is well the *dhobi* and the *nai* are usually sent for. The former takes all the soiled clothes. The wife, after a preliminary bath and anointing by the *dai*, puts on fresh clothes. The barber trims the nails of her hands and feet and puts vermilion on both her feet and the feet of her child so that no evil spirit may harm them as they make their way to the place of the ceremonial bath. Her head has been oiled with *til* oil and occasionally the child has been pricked on the stomach with a hot iron, so that "the waters may be digested". All the earthen vessels in the house should be thrown out and new ones purchased from the Kumhar, and the house should be cleaned and plastered. The *nai* also gives the male members of the family a good shave, both of the face and the head. 846 [164] [302] [415] [302]

The mother is now ready for the ceremonial bath at the village bathing place. The women of the household go there in a group accompanied by a Basor beating a drum. This is done just at sundown. The mother carries a brass vessel (*lota*) on the top of which burns an earthenware lamp (*diya*). At the place of bathing offerings are made: cocoanut, *haldi*, *supari*. Incense may be sprinkled in the fire in the lamp. Mustard seed (*rai*) is often scattered about in order to frighten off any evil spirits which may be at the place ready to injure the mother and the child. There is then a formal sort of bath, the water being [354 415] [782] [789]

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PLATE XV.

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Kol Women and Children in Barela.

Another group in Panagar.

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A Kol Widow. The metal Bangles are retained.

[facing p.66]

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roof is formed by bamboo branches covered with banana leaves. Around the upper edge of the *marhwa* is hung a frieze of mango twigs. Mango leaves are always found in connection with Kol weddings; they do not wither easily and are a symbol of everlastingness and stability. Strips of paper, usually coloured red, are used for decoration. The ground under the *marhwa* is carefully levelled and plastered with cowdung and in the very centre a hole twelve to eighteen inches deep is dug. This is where the central pole will be placed. Before the pole is lowered into position a *supari* nut (*Areca catechu*), some pieces of *haldi* (usually five) and two-pice coins are placed in the pit, and according to some accounts, rice coloured with *haldi* is also thrown in. The *magrohan* is a piece of wood three to four feet in length and two to four inches in diameter. It should preferably be green wood, though a dry pole is used if a fresh one is not available. It is coloured red with *sendur* or yellow with *haldi* and has some thread, coloured either white or yellow, wrapped about it seven times from the top to the bottom. Along with the *magrohan* a short green bamboo stick is fixed together with a green *gular* branch and the iron bar used in digging the holes for the booth. If the central post should be of *gular* or other wood a bit of *saleh* must be inserted with it. The *saleh* is a symbol of fertility, being an evergreen tree which never withers and takes root easily and quickly; even an apparently dry stick will sprout. After the *magrohan* has been put in place it is reverently circuited by the builders seven times in a clockwise direction and then *sendur* and cowdung are applied. The sacred pole stands at the centre of the wedding observances and at that time is surrounded by the articles now to be mentioned. Their position is indicated in figure 21 on the next page.

1. The *magrohan*.
2. A *kalas* (earthenware pot) filled with water. In the water there are mango leaves which are allowed to protrude at the top and over the top is placed a *dip* or earthenware lamp.
3. A *sil* (grinding stone) on which are placed the following articles noted in the sub-heads:
   a. A *lorha* (stone roller)—which the bridegroom will use to roll over the pice and disturb their arrangement;
   b. Husked rice, which is sprinkled over the surface of the *sil*.
   c. Seven pice coins which are laid in a row on top of the rice.
   d. Seven bits of wood, each a different kind.
   e. A whole *supari* nut.
   f. *Haldi* water is sprinkled over the whole.
4. A branch of *gular* or *palasa* (*Butea frondosa*) buried near the *magrohan*. In a crotch of the same will be inserted a small earthen pot containing *haldi*, *supari* nut and two pice.

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parations are then made for the bridegroom to eat *lahahaur*, the food prepared especially for the occasion. This may be of several types. It is sometimes said to consist of rice, pulse, *puris* and *bara*; and again of milk, rice and sugar. This is brought by a female member of the family, the *sarhaj* (bride's brother's wife) being preferred. Before the boy is asked to eat the *lahahaur* two women dressed in dancing garments make their appearance; they sing and dance and are accompanied by some men with their drums. This party advances towards the *janmasa* singing songs which contain many questionable allusions and are considered as *gali* (abuse). They carry the emptied *halsa* with the lighted lamp still on top of it, and place it before the boy who is asked to go around it seven times and sit down. When he has done this the *sarhaj* tries to make him eat the *lahahaur*; she brings it up to his mouth five times in her right hand and after smelling it as many times he refuses to eat. She is paid four annas for this by the boy's father. There is more singing and the giving of *gali* by both sides. Finally the *sarhaj* brings a *lota* of water and washes the feet of the members of the boy's party and at the same time openly counts them so that they may know how many will need food. Much of this food has already been cooked but it is not served till midnight or later. In the meantime, during the meal, and even for the rest of the night, there are songs and the *dadra* dance.

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About eleven o'clock the next morning the members of the bridegroom's party take their morning meal at the bride's house, but the groom stays by himself in the *janmasa* where his food is brought to him. When the others arrive their feet are washed as before and each member is given a *lota* of water so that he may wash his hands. The male members of the two parties always eat together first and the meal is usually served on leaf-plates, or, if they are available, brass ones. The men then go for a chat and rest and sometime later the women take their food. At no time do the men and women eat together.

[264] [515] [264] [415]

(*b*) *Sadi*. The Actual Ceremony. The evening of the second day sees the performance of the marriage proper, the *sadi*. The premises of the girl's house are again plastered and all made clean and ready. The Brahmin priest who wrote the *lagan* is expected to arrive after nightfall. If the family should decide to dispense with his services the part of the priest may be taken by the *phupha* (father's sister's husband). The priest first marks out a square, called the *chauk*, on the plastered portion of the courtyard not far from the wedding booth, using whole wheat flour to mark the lines. A *halsa* is then placed at its centre into which will be thrown the gifts for the

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1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

forms an effective bar to evil spirits who dare not cross that line. Sometimes it is dropped into milk as it is brought home, in order to protect it from the milk-loving *bhuts*.

Colours are also an effective protection. Black is particularly valuable as a prophylactic from the evil eye. Hence lamp-black is put on the face just beneath the child's eye. This disguises and renders him less attractive, and as a result the evil eye will not linger on him. Black marks on a white-washed tile or earthen pot ward off the evil eye in the case of crops. Black also pleases Kali and she is glad to see it.

Red frightens off demons and red flags found above almost every shrine have a dual significance : they please the good spirits and frighten off the evil ones. The *sendur* (vermilion) put on the bride and groom is a protective at that vital time. Following the purification ceremony, six days after the birth of the child, the mother's feet are coloured red.

Yellow also protects and there are anointings with turmeric in oil at the times of birth, wedding and death. At such crises of the soul they keep away forces bent on evil.

White is also used : a white *pot*, or daub, placed on the side of the face, immediately in front of the ears, is said to be protective in the case of the child and wards off the evil eye.

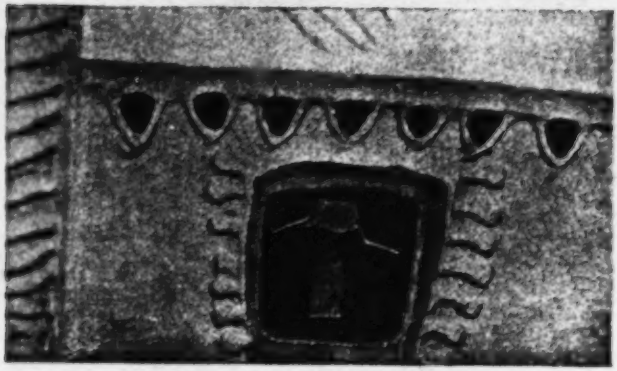
Copper. Iron and copper bangles are common among the Kols and some say that of the two copper is to be preferred and is more effective ; it was offered to Hanumanji the monkey god, and is hence very sacred. On no account should this sacred metal be used for dishes nor *lotas*, especially if the *lota* is to be taken out for latrine purposes. To do this would insult Hanumanji and show disrespect to copper. The copper bangle is a very potent charm, and among Kols it is often found that children have a copper anklet on one foot and an iron one on the other. The same applies to the wrists. The little boxes frequently seen attached to strings about the neck, containing powerful protectives such as tiger's claws or *mantras* (written charms), are generally made of copper.

Incense and Smoke. Incense attracts good deities and, conversely, repels evil personalities. At the time of worship incense is thought of as having this dual function. The odour of burning *ghi* is very effectual in this respect. Smoke usually repels demons and if articles which cause an evil odour are dropped into the fire they are driven away. In the Kol birth chamber the baby is passed through smoke soon after birth, and for some days the air in the lying-in room is kept smoky by means of a fire smoldering somewhere within it.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XX.

341
415
782
769
796



Leaf Cup set in decorated niche in outer Wall.

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Peacock Design beside the Threshold of a Kol Dwelling.

[Facing p. 244]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE X.

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243
463

[415]

Kols Threshing and Winnowing their Wheat near Barela

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439
463

Tendu leaves gathered by Kols for Biri manufacture. The two men on the right are Mohammedan leaf Brokers. Khavara Ghat Village.

[FACING p. 265]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

137
221
291
415
482
491

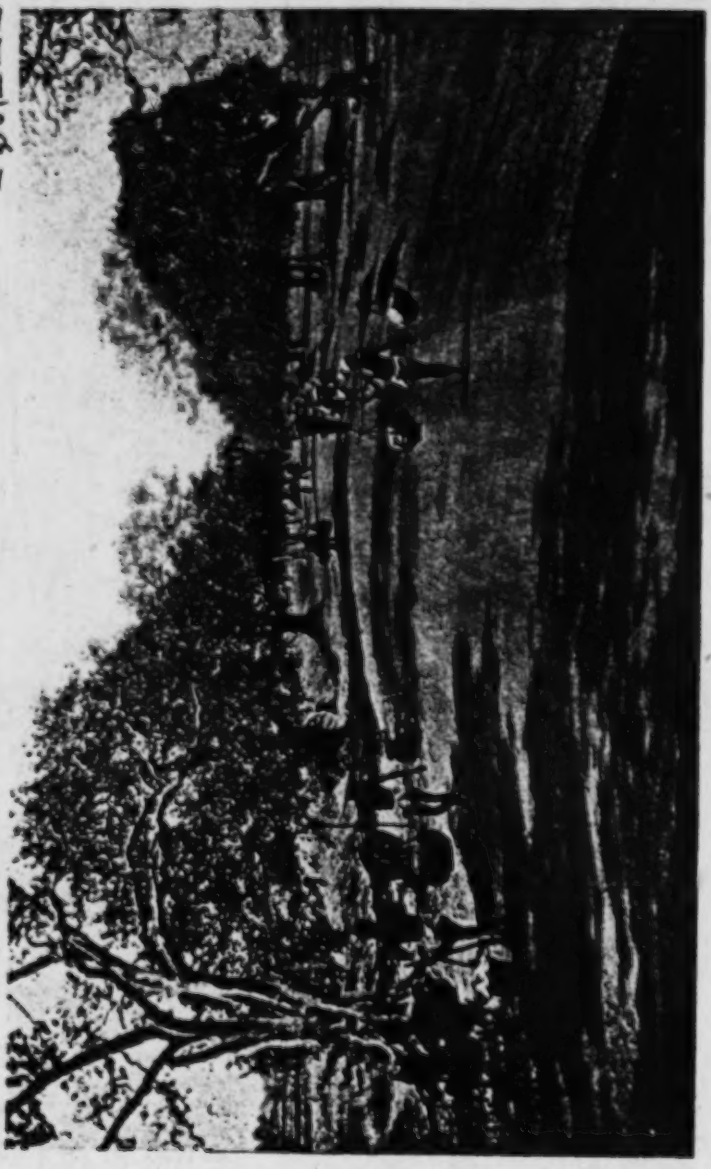

PLATE XXIX

Kols migrating North following the Wheat Harvest.

[Facing p. 277]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Phāgun	..	February-March.
Chaita	..	March-April.
Baishāka	..	April-May.
Jeṭh	..	May-June.

III. LOVE AND INTRIGUE.

1. A *dādrā* from Katni. The *loṭā* is a brass vessel used for carrying liquids. A cord is frequently tied about its neck and it is lowered into a well in order to bring up water. See note on 6, 7 below.

2. A *kāfilī* from Imalhapur. This is a teasing song and in this case the *kafili* is addressed to a young maid of beauty. The *pānwārin* prepares and sells the *pān*, a mixture of betel nut, lime and tobacco wrapped in Piper leaves (*Piper betel*).

3. A *dādrā* from Katni.

4. A *dādrā* sung at the wedding season: from Jubbulpore. The suspicious husband is assured that his wife's smiles and blushes are innocent, and are directed to no other man. The first line should be repeated four times.

5. A *dādār* from Katni. The *dhīmar* is a member of the fisherman caste, but is used in another sense.

6, 7. These are both *dādrās* from Katni. The symbolism of these two songs is perhaps obvious. Sexual matters are referred to by the men as entering a house, as a lotus on a pond or in terms of getting water from the well.

8. A *rāī* from Katni.

9. A *biyā*, or wedding song; sung at the time of the circumambulation of the sacred post. From Salavara. The terms of relationship are noted in the text of the translation. The intrigue is rather complicated and it is evident that the mother-in-law, who ought to be on her guard, is a simpleton and does not realize what is going on. The symbolism is apparent.

IV. SONGS OF SOCIAL EVENTS.

1. This song is called *chhankar* as it is sung on the sixth night after the birth of a child. The woman complains that the in-laws care nothing for her birth-pangs. Given by women near Katni.

2. A *badhwā*, a song sung by women when a male child is born. The song is kept up for long periods and is repeated again and again. It is essentially a song of congratulation. Ayodhya was the place of Ram's birth. This song given by women near Katni.

3. Another *chhankar* or sixth-night song from Katni. A Kajali forest (dense—black as *kajal*) is one inhabited by elephants. The swing has a sexual symbolism.

4. A *dādrā* from Imalhapur. The *Pūrabiyās* are dwellers in the eastern parts. There is a Purbiya subdivision of Chamars. (Briggs, *op. cit.* page 24). The *Baghels* are men of Baghelkhand.

5. A *rāī* from Katni.

6. A marriage *dādrā* from Barela and sung as a teasing song.
Marawā or *marhwā*: the wedding booth.